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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Editor's Note: The period from November 15, 1921 to February 15, 1922 is covered in the following pages. The sections on the Far East and on Latin America have been postponed to the July issue.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Council

Following a request from Mr. Lloyd George to the Secretary-General of the League for a meeting of the Council, to consider the continued Yugoslav invasion of Albania, as a direct violation of the Covenant, and the adoption of blockade measures under Article 16 of the Covenant in case the invasion did not cease, the Council was convened in extraordinary session, in Paris, from November 16 to 19. During that period it occupied itself almost exclusively with the question of Albania's frontiers. Representatives of Albania and of Yugoslavia were present at the sessions. The delegate of the latter Power agreed to respect the frontiers set by the Council of Ambassadors (*quod vide*) and to withdraw all troops from Albanian territory at once, while both representatives declared for their governments that they would maintain neighborly relations in the future. The Commission of Enquiry of the League in Albania has returned to that country to watch the retirement of Yugoslav troops. At the same session of the Council, Mr. Fisher announced for Great Britain that a treaty had been concluded under the British mandate with the King of Irak, Emir Feisul.

The sixteenth session opened at Geneva on January 10, under the presidency of M. Hymans. A delegation from the Saar Valley appealed to the Council against the decision of the Governing Commission in defining as an "inhabitant" of the Valley any person residing in the Saar one year, and in withdrawing citizenship permanently from any person, born in the Saar but absent for one year. The appeal was denied and the Governing Commission reëlected. The Council accepted the responsibility of guaranteeing the neutrality of the Aaland Islands, and dropped the settlement of the Polish-Lithuanian dispute over Vilna on the refusal of both governments to abide by the League's decision. (See *Poland*.)

Permanent Court of International Justice

An informal preliminary session of the Court opened at The Hague on January 30. At a private session on February 3, Dr. B. T. C. Loder, a former member of the Dutch Supreme Court, was elected President of the Court. The first public meeting was held on February 15.

COUNCIL OF AMBASSADORS

The Council of Ambassadors, on November 9, announced the Albanian frontier as following the 1913 line with four slight reservations, three favoring Yugoslavia and one Albania. In reaching this decision the Council determined that, in case Yugoslavia did not respect the frontiers, Italy should be entrusted with the task of restoring them. On November 18, a supplementary decision was reached by which a zone of demarcation is established, to be kept free of Albanian and Serbian troops pending the actual marking of the border.

SUPREME COUNCIL

(For the discussion of reparation at the London and Cannes meetings, see *Germany*.)

Following a conference between Premiers Lloyd George and Briand in London from December 19 to 22, dealing with questions of reparation and interallied indebtedness, the members of the Supreme Council gathered at Cannes on January 4 for conversations preliminary to the meeting two days later. On the 6th, the Council, convened for the task of facing European economic and financial problems, adopted a resolution calling for an international economic and financial conference at Genoa in March, to which all the ex-enemy states, with the exception of Turkey, would be invited. Participation was granted to the Soviet Government on the following conditions: Russia shall not dictate the form of government of another nation; shall legally enforce the rights of private property and contract; shall meet old Russian debts; shall abstain from propaganda; and shall reestablish legal and juristic punishment for crimes. Russia has accepted the invitation to be present without definitely accepting the conditions. Originally called by the Italian Government for March 8, the conference has been postponed to April 10, mainly on the request of France who fears a revision of the Treaty of Versailles and the recognition of Russia on conditions unfavorable to her interests. An attempt has been made by France, through exchanges of notes, to secure a preliminary consideration and interpretation of the agenda of the conference by the allied governments and the representatives of the "Little Entente." The program as fixed at Cannes includes the following: (1) Examination into the means for putting into execution the principles contained in the resolution of January 6, especially regarding Russia; (2) establishment of European peace upon a solid basis; (3) conditions necessary to the restoration of economic confidence without endangering or altering existing treaties; (4) financial questions, such as currency, paper money, banks and banking systems; (5) economic and financial questions.

The formation of an international finance corporation to reestablish the economic foundations of Europe was accepted by the Council. Capital to the extent of £20,000,000 will be raised by individuals in, and the governments of, France, Great Britain and

the United States, if the latter desires; allied nations and neutrals may share. A Central International Corporation will be created, with headquarters in London, and will consist of representatives of the affiliated national corporations to be set up in the countries participating. A council of representatives from the several countries will govern the operations of the consortium, and will be concerned at first with the restoration of transport facilities in countries "which guarantee the rights of private property and enforce justice."

The treaty guaranteeing the security of France, under discussion at the preliminary London meeting in December, was again before the two premiers at Cannes. English opinion favored an agreement between England, France and Germany to keep the peace, while M. Briand demanded a military alliance with England. These negotiations, together with the agreement reached at Cannes to revise the schedule of reparation payments and to hear the Germans, aroused feeling in France to such a point that M. Briand returned to Paris on the 11th to explain his position to the Cabinet and Chamber of Deputies. On the 12th, realizing the sentiment against him, he resigned without waiting for a vote of confidence. The Cannes conference closed the next day and negotiations on the Anglo-French alliance have been resumed by diplomatic methods. The terms agreed upon at Cannes were: (1) Great Britain promised France the aid of her military, naval and air forces in case of aggression by Germany; (2) France and Great Britain reaffirmed their common interest in Articles 42, 43 and 44 of the Treaty of Versailles, and promised to act in concert against any violators of these Articles; (3) France and Great Britain promised to act in concert should Germany take any military, naval or aerial measures incompatible with the Treaty of Versailles; (4) the treaty imposed no obligations on the British Dominions unless approved by the Dominion interested; (5) the treaty would remain in force for ten years, and be renewable by common consent at the end of that period.

WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON THE LIMITATION OF ARMAMENT

(For preliminaries and the opening session, see *Notes* for January, 1922.)

The Washington Conference, which opened on November 12, 1921, did not complete its labors until February 6, 1922. During that period of thirteen weeks there were seven plenary sessions. The principal committees, in which most of the discussion took place, were the Committee on the Limitation of Armament, which held twenty-one meetings, and the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions, which met thirty-one times.

Discussion of the limitation of naval armament centered chiefly in the question of the submarine. The original Hughes' proposal made no mention of the capital ship or submarine tonnage for France and Italy. On December 15, the United States, Great Britain and Japan agreed to the 5-5-3 ratio on condition

that the *status quo* with regard to fortifications and naval bases in the Pacific be maintained and that the ratios for France and Italy be fixed. France made no objection to the 175,000 capital ship tonnage, allotted her on the basis of the relation of her actual fleet to those of the original three Powers, but she insisted on a 90,000 submarine tonnage allotment, equal to the allotments provided for the United States and Great Britain, on the ground that her extensive coastline and colonial possessions made the submarine necessary to her as a defense weapon. Great Britain, on the other hand, considered the submarine a definite menace to her commerce and overseas communications, on which her food supply depends, and made a plea for the abolition of the submarine. Plain speaking ensued on the part of the British delegation, casting suspicion on France for a demand so disproportionate to her capital ship tonnage. The French delegation held out, nevertheless, for 90,000 tons as an irreducible minimum, with the result that no mention of submarine tonnage is made in the Five-Power Naval Treaty. Slight modifications were made in the ratios of capital ship tonnage originally provided to permit the retention of certain ships, such as the *Mutsu* in preference to the *Settsu* for Japan and, for the United States, the completion of two ships of the *West Virginia* class to take the place of the *North Dakota* and *Delaware*. The maximum capital ship tonnage for the various Powers, as finally agreed upon, is:

	CAPITAL SHIPS	TOTAL TONNAGE
United States.....	18	500,650
Great Britain.....	22	580,450
France.....	10	221,170
Italy.....	10	182,800
Japan.....	10	301,320

The treaty designates which ships may be retained in each case. The total capital ship replacement tonnage of each of the Contracting Powers is fixed as follows:

	TONS	METRIC TONS
United States.....	525,000	533,400
Great Britain.....	525,000	533,400
France.....	175,000	177,800
Italy.....	175,000	177,800
Japan.....	315,000	320,040

The capital ship tonnage provided in the original American proposal was:

	CAPITAL SHIPS	TOTAL TONNAGE
United States.....	18	500,650
Great Britain.....	22	604,450
Japan.....	10	299,700

with capital ship replacement of:

	TONS
United States.....	500,000
Great Britain.....	500,000
Japan.....	300,000

The original 5-5-3 ratio was, therefore, accepted by the five Powers, and extended to include a 1-6 ratio for France and Italy. The Five-Power Naval Treaty stipulates the total tonnage for aircraft carriers of each of the Contracting Powers. The discussion of the limitation of aircraft resulted in a decision that "it is not at present practicable to impose any effective limitation upon the numbers or characteristics of aircraft, either commercial or military." The question of rules of warfare to govern the use of aircraft in war was referred to a special committee. On January 27, the Root resolution calling for a future conference to revise the rules of war was adopted. The Root code for submarine warfare, embodied in three resolutions which were introduced on December 28, was the subject of considerable discussion, resulting in the Five-Power Treaty restricting the use of submarines in warfare, outlawing them as commerce destroyers and embodying an additional clause with regard to asphyxiating and poisonous gases. The question of land armament, the special concern of France and Italy, was raised at the third plenary session, when M. Briand made an emphatic defense plea for France and attempted to prove the impossibility of moral or physical disarmament for his country.

The Far Eastern discussions opened on November 16, with the presentation by the Chinese delegation of the so-called "ten points," containing a statement of the principles which should guide the Conference in their determination of the questions relating to China. The Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions accepted China's claims "in principle" on the 19th. On the 21st, the Root principles, four in number, were adopted as a guide to the Committee in its investigations with regard to China, by which it was agreed: (1) To respect China's sovereignty, independence and territorial and administrative integrity; (2) to provide the fullest opportunity to China to develop and maintain a stable government; (3) to help in maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in China; and (4) to refrain from taking advantage of present conditions in order to seek special rights or privileges. The discussions on China covered, in addition to the extension of the principle of the Open Door and the question of the Twenty-One Demands, a wide range of concrete problems, such as a board of reference for Far Eastern questions, foreign postal agencies, extraterritoriality, foreign troops in China, leased areas, alien radio stations, discrimination on Chinese railways, publicity regarding commitments,

embargo on arms to China, reduction of Chinese military forces, and revision of the Chinese tariff. Meetings of the Chinese and Japanese delegations dealt with the Shantung controversy, which was not properly a subject for the Conference as a whole, and on February 4, an agreement was reached as a result of these negotiations, by which the former German leased territory of Kiaochow was restored to China. The Shantung agreement included as well provision for the transfer to China of the Tsingtao-Tsinanfu Railway, the opening of Kiaochow to international trade, and the financing of the coal and iron mines along the Shantung Railway. The restoration of the Shantung Province was completed by Great Britain's release of Wei-Hai-Wei.

Another controversy, which was settled while the Conference was in session although not definitely a subject for consideration by that body, was the disposition of the Island of Yap. Negotiations between the American and Japanese Governments led to an agreement by which Japan is to hold the mandate for the island but the United States is to have free access to the island in so far as the Yap-Guam cable, any other cable or radiotelegraphic service is concerned and confirms American rights in other mandated islands.

In the course of the discussions Japan waived Group V of the Twenty-one Demands and gave up her claims to preferential and exclusive rights in Manchuria and Mongolia. The Chinese delegation declared that the Sino-Japanese treaties of 1915 should form the subject of impartial examination with a view to their abrogation. Japan also gave assurance of her intention to withdraw her troops from the Maritime Province in Siberia and from the Island of Saghalin.

In the discussion of the resolution on the principle of the Open Door, which resulted in the Nine-Power Treaty listed below, Japan was opposed to the new definition of the policy having any retroactive effect as regards concessions. Her opposition bore such weight that Article IV of the Hughes' resolution, providing that any concession which appeared inconsistent with another concession or with the principles set forth in the rest of the resolution, should be submitted to the Board of Reference when established, was dropped. The treaty as adopted, includes the four Root principles. Its preamble states its purpose as a desire "to adopt a policy designed to stabilize conditions in the Far East, to safeguard the rights and interests of China, and to promote intercourse between China and the other Powers upon the basis of equality of opportunity."

The Chinese tariff treaty provides for a revision of the schedule of 1918 so that the customs duty shall be an effective 5 per cent *ad valorem*, and for a special conference to prepare the way for the abolition of the likin (internal tax) with a view to granting China the right to levy surtaxes of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on necessities and 5 per cent on luxuries. Revision of the tariff is provided at the end of four years and again every seven years.

The results of the Conference are embodied in seven treaties and twelve resolutions, which were signed at the final plenary session on February 6. The treaties include: (1) A five-power treaty limiting naval armament; (2) a five-power treaty in relation to the use of submarines and noxious gases in warfare; (3) a four-power treaty, relating to the insular possessions and insular dominions of the United States, the British Empire, France and Japan in the Pacific Ocean (this treaty terminates the Anglo-Japanese Alliance); (4) a declaration accompanying the above four-power treaty, to the effect that the making of the treaty shall not be considered an assent on the part of the United States to the mandates in the Pacific Ocean; (5) a treaty supplementary to the four-power treaty, defining "insular possessions and insular dominions" so far as Japan is concerned; (6) a nine-power treaty relating to principles and policies to be followed in matters concerning China (this treaty embodies an extension of the principle of the Open Door); and (7) a nine-power treaty relating to Chinese customs tariff. The resolutions are as follows: (1) For a Commission of Jurists to consider amendment of laws of war; (2) limiting the jurisdiction of the Commission of Jurists provided in the first resolution; (3) regarding a Board of Reference for Far Eastern Questions; (4) regarding extraterritoriality in China; (5) regarding foreign postal agencies in China; (6) regarding armed forces in China; (7) regarding radio stations in China and accompanying declarations by China; (8) regarding unification of railways in China, and accompanying declaration by China; (9) regarding the reduction of Chinese military forces; (10) regarding existing commitments of China or with respect to China; (11) regarding the Chinese Eastern Railway, approved by all the Powers including China; and (12) regarding the Chinese Eastern Railway approved by all the Powers other than China.

The closing address was delivered by President Harding.

UNITED STATES

(For Russian Relief Bill see *Russia*.)

On November 19 President Harding issued a proclamation declaring war between the United States and Austria-Hungary had terminated on July 2, 1921. Diplomatic relations with Germany were officially resumed on December 31.

The War Loan Refunding Bill was approved by the Senate Finance Committee on December 10, passed by the Senate on January 31, and signed by President Harding on February 9. The Bill authorizes the refunding of the foreign debt due the United States into securities maturing not later than June 15, 1947. The Refunding Commission as provided for in the Bill is to consist of five members: three members of the Cabinet, one from the Senate and one from the House of Representatives. The appointment of Secretary Mellon as chairman of the Commission is stipulated in the Bill; the four other members are to be named by the President.

With the opening of the regular session of Congress on December 5, the first budget to be compiled under the newly enacted Budget Act was transmitted to both branches of Congress by President Harding. The budget calls for estimated expenditures in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1923, of \$3,505,754,727. For the purpose of providing a portion of the funds necessary to balance the budget for 1923, in which the estimated expenditures exceed the estimated receipts by the sum of approximately \$150,000,000, President Harding recommended legislation in connection with the Navy Appropriation Bill for 1923, which would result in the eventual automatic release of \$100,000,000 now held in the naval supply account of the Navy Department.

The Report of the Special Mission on investigation to the Philippine Islands, signed by the New Governor-General, Leonard Wood, and by W. Cameron Forbes, was made on October 8, 1921. The report recommends that the present status of the Philippines continue until the people "have had time to absorb and thoroughly master the powers already in their hands." A committee appointed by the Philippine Legislature has come to the United States to oppose the recommendations contained in the Report. On December 15 the convention of the Nacionalista Party in Manila adopted in its platform a plank for absolute independence. The two resident Philippine Commissioners, on December 26, sent to President Harding a statement asking for independence.

A delegation of native Porto Rican officials and citizens, under the leadership of Antonio R. Barcelo, President of the Porto Rican Senate, and leader of the Unionist Party, the dominant political party in Porto Rico, came to Washington late in November to demand the removal from office of Governor E. Montgomery Reily, whom they charged with maladministration of office ever since his arrival in Porto Rico last July. In spite of this protest President Harding, on December 16, instructed Governor Reily to return to Porto Rico at once. On February 14, a general assembly of the Unionist Party voted to eliminate the independence plank from its platform and to substitute the status of a "free state associated with the United States." The party endorsed the Campbell resolution, now in Congress, which provides for almost absolute autonomy, with power to elect the Governor and Legislature, to make the laws and to enforce them. A resident commission, with veto power, would represent the United States and have power in emergencies to establish martial law.

The Senatorial Commission investigating the American Occupation and Administration of Haiti and Santo Domingo, after a short visit to Haiti and Santo Domingo, made its preliminary report to President Harding in December. The report recommended against the withdrawal of American marines or the reduction of the forces policing Haiti. Instead, the appointment of a high commissioner was recommended, to whom both the civil and military authorities should report, as well as the maintenance of the American civil staff and the continuance of the

treaty of 1915. A loan to Haiti so that she may pay her debt to European countries was urged. In the course of the hearings on the Commission's report, important documents from the United States Navy's secret dispatch book on Haiti, relative to the United States' policy towards Haiti since 1914, have been revealed.

The political leaders in Santo Domingo have rejected the conditions of withdrawal of the military government of the United States, proposed in the proclamation issued by the military governor in June, and the population has declined to take any steps to hold the necessary elections to carry them out. Senator McCormick, chairman of the Senatorial Commission investigating the American Occupation and Administration of Haiti and Santo Domingo, has declared that it is impossible at the present time to advise a substantial modification of the terms of the proclamation, which are regarded as necessary to assure civil order and peace, the maintenance of credit and the discharge of the obligations of Santo Domingo. The Dominicans have been consistent and emphatic in their demand for a return of their independence, subject only to the terms of the treaty of 1907, and in their charge of illegality against the American occupation.

The treaty between the United States and Colombia, providing for payment to Colombia of \$25,000,000 in settlement of the difficulties growing out of the acquisition by the United States of the Panama Canal route, was ratified by the Colombian Chamber of Deputies on December 24, 1921. The treaty, which was first sent to the United States Senate in 1914, was ratified by that body in April, 1921. The Colombian Senate ratified it on October 13, 1921.

In January, President Harding invited Chile and Peru to send plenipotentiaries to Washington for conference, with a view to reaching an agreement regarding the execution of the unfulfilled clauses of the Treaty of Ancon, involving the Tacna-Arica dispute. Both Chile and Peru have accepted the invitation.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Ireland

Peace negotiations were continued during the latter part of November, and on December 6, a treaty was signed under the terms of which Ireland is to have the same constitutional status as the other British Dominions and is to be known as the Irish Free State; allegiance to the British Crown is to be retained. The treaty was opposed by Mr. de Valera, and by Sir James Craig on the part of Ulster. The British Parliament was called in special session on December 14 to discuss the treaty, and a resolution of ratification was embodied in the Address from the Throne. An amendment, in effect rejecting the treaty, was defeated by a vote of 156 to 47 in the House of Lords, and by a vote of 401 to 58 in the House of Commons. The Dail Eireann ratified the treaty on January 9, by a vote of 60 to 48. Mr. de Valera having resigned,

Mr. Arthur Griffith was elected to succeed him as president of the Dail, which is to remain in existence until the treaty is executed and a general election held. The treaty was ratified by the Parliament of Southern Ireland on January 14. A Provisional Government, set up to supervise the execution of the treaty and to draw up a new Irish Constitution, was formally installed in Dublin Castle on January 16. On February 9, the Irish Free State Act of 1922, designed to put into effect the terms of the Anglo-Irish treaty, received its first reading in the British House of Commons.

India

December 27 to 29, an All-India Nationalist Congress met at Ahmedabad. The extremists proposed a resolution to obtain complete independence by "possible and proper means" instead of the "legitimate and peaceful means" of Gandhi's policy. The resolution was rejected by an overwhelming majority. At a meeting of the leaders of all Indian parties, held in Bombay on January 15, a resolution was passed favoring a conference, similar to the Irish peace parleys, between British representatives and a delegation of Indian Nationalists, as suggested by the Governor of Bengal. A satisfactory basis for the conference has not yet been found.

A meeting of the Bombay Provincial Congress was held on January 29 to enlist volunteers for the civil disobedience movement which had been postponed in November until the end of January. Early in February Gandhi issued a manifesto explaining the reasons which led to his campaign of civil disobedience, and stating his willingness to postpone the campaign further to allow a reconsideration of the situation provided the Viceroy would, within seven days, declare amnesty to all political prisoners and restore freedom of association and of the press. The Indian Office issued a communication on February 7 challenging certain statements made in Gandhi's manifesto and declaring his demands to be such that no government could discuss them. To this Gandhi replied, repeating the allegations made in his manifesto, charging the Government with lawless repression, and stating his readiness to prove the charges before any impartial tribunal not connected with the Government. During January and February rioting increased and the situation became more serious in many districts. On February 13, a resolution was passed by the Working Committee of the National Congress in Bardoli, deploring a recent outbreak at Chauri-Chaura, and suspending civil disobedience until the wave of violent feeling shall have passed.

Egypt

On December 3, the British Government issued a White Paper concerning the negotiations with Egypt, whereby the British offered to recognize Egypt as a sovereign state under a constitutional monarch, but demanded that all political agreements be

approved by England, and that England be allowed to maintain an army not only in the Suez Canal zone but anywhere in Egypt. The proposals were rejected by the Egyptians, and the Egyptians, and the Egyptian Cabinet, under Adly Pasha, resigned on December 8. As no Egyptian would hold office under a régime of martial law, no new cabinet has been formed.

Zaghlul Pasha, the Nationalist leader, was deported by the British to Ceylon. As a result, a non-coöperation movement made its appearance similar to that of Mr. Gandhi in Egypt, except that it made no provision against violence. A manifesto was issued January 23 by eight members of the Nationalist Party, calling for a complete boycott of British goods and people. General Allenby ordered the arrest of the eight signers and the suspension of the four Cairo papers publishing the manifesto.

The Foreign Office issued a statement, on January 29, that the British Government would be willing to terminate the protectorate, recognize Egypt as a sovereign state, and agree to the establishment of an Egyptian Parliament, provided that Great Britain retain the right and the power to afford the protection to the foreign communities in Egypt expected by the governments of those peoples, under existing conditions, and that Egypt be safeguarded against all foreign interference or aggression, direct or indirect.

FRANCE

The political situation has been unusually tense, involving a succession of votes of confidence, and resulting finally in the resignation of M. Briand and the formation of a new Government by M. Poincaré. (See report of the Cannes Conference, under *Supreme Council*.) Six members of the new Cabinet were members of the Briand Cabinet. On January 19 the new Government received a vote of confidence, 472 to 107, from the Chamber of Deputies, following M. Poincaré's declaration on his foreign and domestic policy.

On December 14, the Chamber of Deputies voted approval of the new budget, providing for an expenditure of 25,140,000,000 francs and receipts of 24,327,000,000 francs. The senate approved the budget for 1922 on December 31. The war budget for 1922, according to M. Barthou, Minister of War, shows a decrease in 850,000,000 francs as compared with that of 1921. The French debt, which in 1914 amounted to 27 milliard francs, is now reported at 328 milliard francs.

In December, M. Berthelot, Secretary of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, resigned in consequence of allegations that he had abused his official position in the matter of La Banque Industrielle de la Chine, which suspended payments in June. The Government's intentions with regard to the refloating of the Banque have been under discussion in the Chamber, resulting in the adoption of a resolution, authorizing the Government to negotiate with the Chinese Government for the assignment of the instalments of the

Boxer indemnity to the purpose of "safeguarding the material and moral interests of France in the Far East."

The new French army bill provides for an army of 695,000 men, of whom 478,000 will be French-born, the remainder North Africans, Colonials and foreigners. The Socialist scheme, opposing the Government proposal, provides for an army of 150,000 on the ground that reduction of Germany's army to 100,000 men makes that number sufficient. The Government scheme provides for a reduction of the Rhine forces from 90,000 to 69,500 men. Early discussion of the bill has been urged. On January 9, it was announced that Algerian and Senegalese troops are to replace disbanded French regiments in France.

The commercial *modus vivendi* with Spain expired on December 10. Its denunciation was a reply to the new Spanish customs tariff, which is especially aimed at France.

The Council of the French Labor Federation on February 14, by a vote of 92 to 3, voted confidence in M. Jouhaux, leader of the moderates. This was the first meeting of the Council since the split in the ranks of the Federation on January 1.

GERMANY

The scheme of reparation payments adopted in May, 1921, fixed the reparation figure at 132 milliard gold marks, and provided for the payment annually of: A (a) fixed sum of two milliard gold marks, to be paid quarterly before January 15, April 15, July 15 and October 15 of each year; and (b) a sum equivalent to a percentage of Germany's exports, to be paid in quarterly instalments before the fifteenth of November, February, May and August of each year. The first milliard under (a) and the first instalment under (b) have been paid. On January 15, another quarterly instalment of the two milliards fell due, and on February 15, the first instalment for 1922 under (b). During the months of December and January an exchange of notes took place between the Reparation Commission and the German Government regarding these payments, resulting in a provisional delay, conditional upon the payment of 31,000,000 gold marks every ten days during the period of delay; and the submission by Germany within a fortnight of a program for financial reform, with a guarantee plan for its fulfillment, and a schedule of payments in cash and in kind for 1922. The reparation problem was under consideration at the Cannes Conference, subsequent to the meetings of M. Briand, M. Loucheur and Dr. Rathenau with Mr. Lloyd George in London, and a tentative agreement was reached to set the payments for this year at 720,000,000 gold marks in cash and 1,450,000,000 for delivery in kind. The conference broke up, however, before a real decision was reached. In the meantime the ten-day instalments were deposited on January 19 and 27, and on February 8. On January 28, Germany's reply to the Reparation Commission's request for a program of financial reform and payments was delivered. The note requested that Germany be

relieved of all cash payments in 1922 and asked for a general reduction in cash payments and an increase in payments in kind. It announced an increase in revenue through drastic increases in taxation, especially in indirect taxes (bills are before the Reichstag providing further increases in property tax, as well as taxes on capital and corporations, increase in turnover tax from $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to 2 per cent and in the coal tax from 20 to 40 per cent); the reduction of expenditure by the gradual abolition of Government subsidies for foodstuffs (food subsidies for 1922 will be reduced from 2,250,000,000 to 1,000,000,000 paper marks), a new system of unemployment relief, and an enormous increase in railway, postal and telephone rates; and the prevention of an increase of note circulation by the issue of a forced loan of one milliard gold marks, the yield of the loan to be used only for extraordinary payments to foreign countries, especially reparation liabilities (the compulsory loan was accepted by the Reichstag on January 26). Energetic measures were promised against the removal of capital abroad and the evasion of taxation. Finally, it was suggested that the Allies take measures to restore Germany's internal and external credit and so facilitate the floating of a big international reparation loan. The demand for guarantees that the program outlined in the note would be fulfilled was ignored. Neither the Reparation Commission nor the Allied Governments have reached a decision with regard to the program. The period of provisional delay will last until there is a decision, the balance due on the January 15 and February 15 payments becoming payable a fortnight after the decision.

The German Budget for 1922 was introduced in the Reichstag on January 30. The ordinary budget shows, with a revenue of 103,200,000,000 marks and expenditures of 86,700,000,000 marks, a surplus of 16,500,000,000 marks available for reparation payments. There is an estimated deficit of 183 milliard paper marks; the largest deficit item is 171 milliard paper marks for reparations.

A strike begun by subordinate railway officials and engine-drivers on February 2, involving a demand for wage increases ranging from 50 to 75 per cent, led, through the extension of the strike to the men in the repair shops, to a complete cessation of traffic throughout North and Western Germany. The Trade Union Head Committees issued a manifesto, condemning the strikers and calling off the strike, but it continued in spite of the rebuke. The Government condemned the strike as a "revolt," claimed that the railwaymen, as Government employees, had no right to strike, and adopted such repressive measures as the confiscation of all strike funds and the issuance of an edict forbidding railway officials to stop work under penalty of imprisonment or fine up to 50,000 marks. On February 7, the strike was called off. The wage increases demanded by the railwaymen would have entailed a total annual budget increase of from 50 to 60 milliard marks. From February 5 to 8, the municipal workers in the gas, water and power plants of Berlin were on strike in protest

against the decrease in their standard of living because of increased taxation for reparation purposes.

In January, Dr. Walter Rathenau, former German Minister of Reconstruction, was appointed German Foreign Minister. His appointment resulted in the withdrawal of the Industrial Volkspartei, which Wirth had hoped might become a fourth party of the new coalition. The four opposition movements in the Reichstag, the Nationalist, the German People's Party, the Independent Socialists and the Communists, prepared four resolutions, censuring the Wirth Cabinet for its policy during the railroad strike. Chancellor Wirth disarmed his opponents by asking for a vote of confidence just before the resolutions were put to vote. On February 15, the vote was taken, and showed a majority of 45 for the Wirth Government. The coalition parties are the Democrats, the party of Dr. Rathenau, the Centrum and the Social Democrats.

The German Treasury has presented to the Reichstag a "Memorandum on the Cost of Occupation of the Rhineland up to the end of March, 1921." The document falls into two parts. The first estimates the cost of occupation up to March, 1921 as: 3,936,954,542 gold marks "expenditure incurred by the occupying Powers upon their armies of occupation, for which they expect repayment from the German Realm" and 7,313,911,829 paper marks "expenditure incurred directly by the German Realm through direct or indirect services to the Inter-Allied Rhineland Commission and the armies of occupation." The second part of the Memorandum has for its main object to prove that the Rhineland Commission has greatly exceeded the powers given it under the treaty and the Rhineland Agreement, and has thereby enormously and unnecessarily increased the cost of occupation.

Negotiations regarding Upper Silesia between German and Polish representatives took place in Geneva in November. On December 19, the demarcation line in the industrial district of Upper Silesia was fixed.

ITALY

On December 26, a preliminary commercial convention was signed at Rome between Italy and Soviet Russia. It is conditional upon the cessation of propaganda by each party and upon the right of nationals of the two governments to return to their respective countries. Trade relations are to be resumed at once through accredited agents appointed to facilitate the working of the agreement. It is agreed that Italian goods in Russia shall not be requisitioned, and that Russian gold remaining in Italy shall not be seized; Soviet funds sent to guarantee imports shall be respected by the Italian Government. Property of the two countries, imported or acquired after the conclusion of the convention, shall not be subject to sequestration in either country. A commercial agreement shall be arranged between the two countries within six months.

A similar convention was signed the same day between Italy and the Ukraine, and was accompanied by declarations recognizing the responsibility of each country for the payment of compensation to private persons who may still remain unpaid for goods or services. The details for carrying out this obligation will be settled in a subsequent treaty.

Late in December, following a quarrel between Italian sailors on a torpedo boat in the port of Sebenico and the Dalmatian population of the town, the Yugoslav Government protested against the presence of Italian warships in Dalmatian waters contrary to the terms of the Treaty of Rapallo. M. Pasitch, the Yugoslav premier, has called this violation of the Treaty to the attention of the Entente Powers.

Pope Benedict XV died January 22; Cardinal Ratti, Archbishop of Milan, was elected his successor on February 6 and assumed the name of Pius XI.

The Bonomi Cabinet resigned on February 2. Owing to the difficulty of forming a new cabinet, the King refused to accept the resignation and invited Signor Bonomi and his Cabinet to appear before Parliament on February 16, when a vote will be taken to learn the exact position of the Chamber with regard to the Government's policy.

RUSSIA

The ninth All-Russian Soviet Congress opened in Moscow December 23. A New Central Executive Committee was elected which embraces representatives of all the autonomous republics which have hitherto not been represented. This Committee unanimously re-appointed Nikolai Lenin as President of the Council of the People's Commissars. In his opening address to the Congress, Lenin announced the new economic policy for Russia; he suggested that it would be necessary to pass more laws to stimulate foreign trade and encourage foreigners, whether as merchants abroad or engaged in industrial enterprises in Russia. He also announced the curtailment of the powers of the Cheka, the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission, whose activities in future are to be confined to political matters, as a special department under the Ministry of Interior. The right of habeas corpus is restored and accused persons must be brought to trial within two months.

The budget for January 1 to September 30, 1922, under the new economic and financial policy, estimates an expenditure of 1,403,000,000 gold roubles, of which 83 per cent will be met by revenue. The deficit will be covered by an issue of paper money. The Central Association of the Russian Coöperative Societies has concluded an agreement with the Commissariat for Foreign Trade whereby that body will hand over to the Central Association for further sale all goods purchased by it in foreign countries.

The Supreme Council, meeting at Cannes (see *Supreme Council*), invited the Soviet Government to the projected Genoa Conference,

an invitation quickly accepted by the Soviet. A delegation was chosen by the Executive Council of the Soviet Government on January 27, and a detailed statement of Russian industry, commerce, agriculture, railways and finance will be prepared. Russia asks the status of a sovereign state at the Conference.

As a conclusion to negotiations by the American Relief Administration in Russia the United States Congress voted, December 17, an appropriation of \$20,000,000 for grain to be sent to the famine district in the Volga basin. This expenditure is conditional on Russia's buying an additional \$10,000,000 worth in the United States, using for the purpose gold that remained in the Soviet treasury from Imperial Russia. The arrangement was accepted by Russia on December 30. The supplies so provided will be distributed by the Soviet Government under the supervision of the Relief Administration. According to Dr. Nansen 19,000,000 people are menaced by the famine.

In December, the Norwegian Government presented for registration with the League of Nations a commercial treaty concluded with the Russian Soviet Government. On February 9, negotiations were completed for a commercial treaty between the Swedish Government and Soviet Russia. (For the trade agreement with Italy, see *Italy*.)

BALTIC STATES

An uprising broke out early in November in Eastern Karelia, a region inhabited mainly by Finns but left to Russian administration, with full autonomy, by the terms of the Russo-Finnish treaty. A separate government was maintained by the Karelians and formed the subject of an exchange of notes between Russia and Finland, Russia demanding the expulsion of Russian counter-revolutionists and the cessation of Finnish support to the insurgents. The success of the Soviet forces was reported in February. In the meantime, Finland submitted the affair to the League of Nations in spite of Russia's objections and with the approval of the Baltic States. Poland offered her services as mediator and the Council, in its January session, gave to her the task of solving the dispute and securing the promised autonomy.

A conference between Russia, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania took place in Riga in October and November and considered questions affecting the economic relations of the five countries. At the conference it was decided that the Russian Government should, before the end of the year, negotiate separate commercial treaties, on the most-favored-nation principle, with each of the four Baltic States. A financial commission is to be created in order to consider financial relations and the possibility of establishing "a single measure of value." The words "a single measure of value" are taken from a Russian summary of the resolutions; they seem to imply that some people already contemplate the possibility of something like a monetary union between the Baltic States and Russia. The conference dealt with a variety

of urgent questions affecting communications, railways, navigation trawling, and ports. An agreement was reached, assuring equal rights in the use of various facilities at ports to the several States, and it was decided to hold further conferences with a view to working out detailed arrangements regarding railways, joint trawling, etc. Finally it was agreed to establish at Riga a permanent Economic Bureau to which each State will send a representative. The Bureau will be entrusted with the work of carrying out the resolutions of the conference and of developing further plans for joint action.

POLAND

The basis of discussion suggested by the League of Nations in September for a settlement of the status of Vilna provided for the constitution of the city as an autonomous canton within the Lithuanian State, and for certain obligations whereby Lithuania would be closely bound to Poland. The plan was refused by both parties, Lithuania making any plan conditional upon the retirement of General Zeligowski. In November the Polish Diet passed a bill, supported by President Pilsudski, providing for a Constituent Assembly for the area, including Lida and Bratslav as well as Vilna, and for the establishment of a Central Lithuanian State in the disputed area, following the Hymans plan in some features. On December 2, General Zeligowski retired, handing the administration over to Alexander Meysztowics, a native of Vilna who is reported to be a person of moderate views and with local influence. In the elections for the Assembly on January 8, only Poles voted, the "annexationists" and "federationists" being the two parties contesting. As a result a Diet of 105 members will determine the fate of the city. Recognition of this move has been refused by the Council of the League of Nations on the ground that it was carried out without its sanction. The Council in its January meeting suggested that the settlement be referred to some friendly Power if the two governments are unable to adjust the dispute themselves. Negotiations have begun between the two governments to settle the boundary line themselves, but the possession of Vilna is again the stumbling-block.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

The conference held at Porto Roso in November between Italy and the six Succession States, Austria, Hungary, Jugoslavia, Czecho-slovakia, Rumania and Poland, endeavored to settle transport and tariff difficulties between the several countries. A United Traffic Convention was accepted, and arrangements were made whereby 115,000 railway trucks, previously confined to the territory of a single state, are released for interstate traffic. A commission is to be appointed to study the distribution of fuel, lubricants and other railway requirements among the Succession States. All prohibitions and restrictions on imports are to be abolished by

July 1, 1922, while restrictions on imports will be lifted later. Arrangements on the most-favored-nation principle are to be concluded between these states.

On December 16, the Czecho-Austrian Treaty was signed at Prague. By Article 1 the two States engage to execute integrally the Treaties of St. Germain and Trianon. By Article 2 they guarantee reciprocally their territory as defined in those treaties. Article 3 provides for neutrality in case one of the two parties is attacked or forced to defend itself, and Article 7 for arbitration in all future cases of dispute. The treaty has been accepted by the Austrian Parliament (see *Austria*).

AUSTRIA

After carrying the Czech Treaty (see *Czecho-Slovakia*) successfully through the National Assembly, the Schober Ministry fell on January 26, the Pan-Germans breaking the working agreement whereby the Ministry maintained its majority. The Pan-Germans opposed the treaty on the ground that it would signify the ratification of the present frontiers between the two countries. The Ministry was reformed on the 27th, Dr. Leopold Henek taking the portfolio for Foreign Affairs temporarily. The Government at that time yielded to demands involving increased pay for government employees to the amount of 3,500,000,000 crowns a month. An immediate advance of 100,000,000 Czech crowns on the Czech loan of 500,000,000 crowns was reported February 8.

Occupation of the Burgenland by Austrian troops and officials began on November 13, in accordance with the Protocol of Venice, concluded with Hungary on October 13. A plebiscite was held in the Oedenburg district December 14 and 15, and resulted in a majority for Hungary, the district being handed over January 1. Since that time negotiations have been begun by the two countries to settle the consequences of the plebiscite, and to arrange an economic treaty on the basis of most-favored-nation treatment.

BELGIUM

In December a new Ministry was formed with M. Theunis as Prime Minister.

On January 16, Premier Theunis confirmed the signature of a protocol providing for an Anglo-Belgian military convention, guaranteeing to Belgium defensive support by British forces in case of aggression by any foreign Power. The pact, which was being discussed in the Chamber of Deputies in February, practically renews the guarantee of Belgian territory of 1839, broken in the War, with the difference that Belgium has abandoned her technical neutrality for the position of a sovereign state.

GREECE, TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST

The conclusion of the Franco-Angora Treaty, signed at Angora October 21, has raised additional points of difficulty between France and Great Britain. It follows the lines of the treaty negotiated at London last March except in clauses 8 and 10.

Lord Curzon censured these clauses on the ground that they embody concessions of mandated territory that France had no right to make. On January 6, it is reported, the French Government issued an official paper stating that the Angora agreement is not regarded as a treaty of peace and implies no recognition of the Angora Government. It adds that the rights of Great Britain and Italy, recognized in the tripartite agreement, are not affected, and that France admits the principle of adjusting all problems in a final treaty. English opinion has been very critical of the agreement and is loath to recognize the Angora Government since it has never approved or recognized British claims to Turkish oil-fields. For several months a meeting of French, British, and Italian premiers has been anticipated in an effort to reach agreement on a Near Eastern policy. The necessity for a revision of British policy regarding Turkey is made increasingly evident by the demands of the Indian Moslems. It is reported that a British mission is negotiating an agreement with Kemal Pasha favorable to British interests in Turkey.

The conclusion of the Angora Treaty led to the withdrawal of French forces from Cilicia, beginning November 28. Turkish atrocities followed in the regions evacuated and resulted in the flight of thousands of Christians from Cilicia into Syria and appeals for food and assistance from the Armenians remaining in Cilicia to the French and British Governments and to the League of Nations.

The treaty has had the further effect of first isolating Greece and then bringing her closer to England. After obtaining a vote of confidence, M. Gounaris, the Greek premier, went to Paris but was unsuccessful in preventing the signing of the treaty. In London he persuaded Lord Curzon to protest to France. By January 1, the British Government had withdrawn its opposition to granting credit to the Greek Government and a loan for £15,000,000 was announced, credit to be supplied by private interests. A large proportion of this loan is to be spent in the purchase of British goods. Military operations have been continued by Greeks and Kemalists in a desultory fashion and stories of arrests, deportations and killing of Greeks by the Kemalists are frequent.

A treaty was signed at Kabul, November 22, in which Great Britain recognizes the full independence of Afghanistan and which, by the promise of the Afghan Government not to receive Russian diplomats, practically repudiates the Soviet-Afghan treaty signed last winter. The exchange of diplomatic representatives between London and Kabul removes an old Afghan grievance.

Bolshevik troops evacuated Enzeli, Persia, in November, according to agreement. The British troops had previously left the country, so that Persia is free of foreign troops. A reorganization of the government has taken place.

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